1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Boys are trained for the chase by precept and example, beginning in their ninth or tenth year; for success is far more dependent, in the native mind, on skill than on supernatural aid. Nevertheless charms are used and taboos heeded. Occasionally a calculus (*guagidla*, deer —), sometimes as large as 5 cm. in diameter, is found in the paunch of a deer. This, the only charm known, is carried to the hunt on a thong hung about the neck. It proves fairly effective for deer, but for deer alone (?). One specimen (50.2–1629) is roughly wound with a reddened buckskin strap. Its elderly owner attached so much value to its powers that he has even guarded it from the eyes of fellow tribesmen. (Sinyella, for instance, has seen it but once.) He has repeatedly refused to sell it, even to a Navaho shaman who offered a horse. When he surrendered it to me, he was visibly moved: "You are taking my heart." Sinyella has one, 2.5 cm. in diameter.

I always carry this in my pocket when hunting deer, antelope, or mountain sheep, in order that they stand looking at me unsuspecting while I approach. When I have this I can secure plenty of big bucks; I need many buckskins. If a man dreamed of seeing many deer, I would give it to him to carry on the hunt. I found this last winter, but I have not hunted much since. Perhaps other men have them, but I do not know. Not all deer have these in their paunches. I do not know how they are formed.

Luck is acquired in dreams (p. 332), for a man may obtain the success prefigured there, although there is no certainty. One who dreams of a successful hunt will try his luck; any success within a short time is ascribed to the promise of the dream. The causal sequence does not weigh greatly. Jess, for instance, has dreamed on occasion of fawns passing near him, whistling as they went. He followed the fresh tracks in his dream. Yet, when he failed to find such signs when he went hunting afterwards, he thought no more of it.

Prayers to the sun and a definite magical procedure, of which Sinyella gave the following account, are prescribed before the hunt commences.

Long ago Mountain Lion and Wolf were men. They went hunting for deer every day, but tried many days without finding any. So they thought, "We have not found any. I wonder why. I will think out how I can kill them." So they said something that they might find them easily. Then they said, "We two ordain this. A man should bear in mind what we have said, then when he is hunting, but finds no game, he may repeat it and forthwith attain success." Men know of this today. When a number of men are going to hunt, the big chief issues directions. "We are all going to hunt. One of you should go a long way, two or three miles, just before it is daylight. There you should gather some old deer droppings in a pile, and set them alight until they are entirely consumed. When the ashes are cool, we will all go there."

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

224 782 539 When they reach the appointed place, the chief and each of the others touches his finger to the little heap of ash and makes a mark at the corner of his mouth. Then the chief prays, addressing the rising sun:—

my'ém̨yákd'djá Sun, my relative	pá'ámáhágá look at us	tyúdjé that is why I am here
pá'ámáwíwuká you should give us	djipaimñah ilová your domestic animals	má'dvuká let us see them quickly
ínné'ndja''áká we want to kill some.		

So he talks to the sun: then some of the hunters kill many deer.

224 [833] On the other hand, sexual intercourse would interfere with the pursuit, for the animal would readily get wind of his pursuer or the latter would not be able to see any game. A man would therefore wait two or three days and then bathe before he went hunting.

Hunters sometimes wear a disguise when stalking antelope, deer, or mountain sheep (*ámauldjuwóvigá, dkwagádjuwóvigá, ámudjuwóvigá*, antelope, deer, and sheep stalking). The stuffed headskin of an antelope is worn on the head, while the body is painted pink and white to resemble that animal. Mimicking its actions, the hunter approaches within ten or fifteen meters before he lets fly. A deer head, similarly prepared, but with the addition of willow branches for horns, is worn together with a buckskin coated with ashes to represent the hide. When stalking mountain sheep, the same body disguise is used but the headpiece is the stuffed headskin of an ewe with horns of stuffed buckskin added.

These animals are also driven to localities where they may be conveniently shot. There are a number of places on the cliffs where an animal trail passes around a projecting point, so that they must proceed in single file in order to pass. The hunters build a low semicircular rampart of stones overlooking this place, in which the best shots may crouch with arrow fitted to string. Others drive the animals along the trail; by preference this should be a large party, for the animals are difficult to head off once they turn back. Those in ambush agree that one will shoot the first to appear, another the second, and so on. Game is also driven on to the point of a plateau, at the entrance to which bowmen have been stationed, some at each side and some in the middle. Other men are located at the tip of the promontory to drive the animals back for a second shot. Sometimes they are driven directly over the cliff. The brush and grass is sometimes fired to aid in these drives.

The carcass of a deer struck down by a mountain lion may be taken for food by the old men, but not by those with young children (p. 283).

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plate Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Bows, Arrows, and Quivers

Both the self and the sinew-backed bow are used, although the former is more common. Arrows are either arrow reeds with willow foreshafts, or entirely of wood. The position of the bowman is three-quarters face toward his quarry with the bow held vertically. It is gripped slightly below the center. The arrow is held in position with the left forefinger until ready to shoot; then it rests on that hand to the left of the bow. It is pulled back at shoulder level and the bow held rigid while it is let fly. A variety of the secondary release[1] is used, in which the arrow is grasped well forward in the feathering while the first and second finger tips bear on the string (Fig. 21). Either reed or wooden arrows are used with self or sinew-backed bows. Either bow will carry about 175

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

Fig. 21. The Variant of the Secondary Form of Arrow Release used by the Havasupai.
Fig. 22. Section of a Sinew-Backed Bow.

m., but the effective range is 30 to 45 m. At this range the arrow would penetrate a deer from 15 to 25 cm. At a shorter distance an arrow could be driven completely through a horse. Mountain sheep have been killed when shooting down from a hundred meter cliff. Allowance is made for windage; but rain and snow are said to have no effect on the flight. No prayer is said when shooting, nor will sickness or menstruating women in the house where it is kept affect the power of a bow. The arrow was carefully withdrawn after the kill; heads and feathers of broken arrows were saved.

The best wood for bows (*hápû'"*) is called *kap'áylma'a*, or *kap'á*, or *puíma'd*, which is probably the ash (*Fraxinus anomala* Torr.). A young tree, about 1.25 m. tall, is selected, and its branches trimmed close so that it will grow straight. In two years this is ready to cut, for the trunk

[1] Morss, 143–198.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

been drilled. Straightness is determined by sighting. The arrows are next cut to proper length; for use with the self bow, from tip of forefinger to top of biceps; for the sinew-backed bow, from tip of middle finger to bottom of biceps. (This may apply to wooden arrows only). Reed arrows in the collection measure 75 to 76 cm., of which 15 cm. is foreshaft; willow arrows, 70 to 73 cm.; and boys' reed arrows, 72 to 77 cm. with 9to 12 cm. foreshafts. Willow shafts are trimmed with a knife which like all knife movements is toward the body—and then rubbed between two grooved gritstones (*patamália*) of pumice held in the hand. The shaft is a true cylinder of the diameter of arrow reeds except for a slimmer section where the feathers will be bound and for a flare at the nock. The nock (*padjatatúga*) is next cut; in a reed arrow this comes just above a joint. The foreshaft for the reed arrow is also willow, trimmed to size, about 15 to 20 cm. long, and pointed at both ends. After this is painted red, it is glued into the pith channel of the reed. The end of the shaft is then wrapped for 2 to 3 cm. with sinew, fastened with glue, to prevent it splitting. Finally the foreshaft is split to receive the arrowhead, which is wet in the mouth, glued in, and tied on with sinew, which is not, however, glued (Fig. 24b). It is prayed to that it may stay tight. Many arrows, used for small game, have simply a sharpened foreshaft.

Stone arrowheads range from 3 to 6 cm. in length; the smaller are placed on reed arrows, the larger on wooden shafts. These are triangular, with a deep, square notch in the base, and with the cutting edges reaching almost to the base. If an arrowhead tends to work loose, it is nicked well up the side to aid in retying. Stone heads were flaked on the heel of the hand with an antler tip cylinder. Bone or antler arrowheads are not used. Blunt points for stunning small game are not manufactured, but a cornoob may be placed on the point of the foreshaft for this purpose.[1]

Willow arrows are often decorated with one to three zigzag or wavy grooves (*dpdrd'ui'ga*) running the length of the shaft, representing lightning (*vttal'djd*). These are made with a tool consisting of a wooden block with a groove across one face into which there protrudes the point of a knife thrust through from the back. The shaft is drawn through the groove, rocking it slightly, so that the point may trace a sinuous line.

The eagle and hawk furnish the best feathers for arrows, those of a smaller blue and gray hawk and possibly other birds are also used. Young

[1] It is curious that the metal points that are made have the curve of rounded shoulders where the tang joins the blade which occur in early trade examples found in eastern United States.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

527 The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men
535 who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun
[439] by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

534 The drum (*guesllk̨ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*guesllk̨ómidt'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella
597 prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

●782 Inyámátvi — má'éváhag'ti — dóyllniyódjík
539 my ground — ground, hear me — let us always live

áhán[gwayóhag'ti — ma'éváhag'ti
I want always to live well — ground, hear me.

624 The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs:
527 it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In
535 fact, the term *kakó't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader,
[171] *kokóta*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader,
533 Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjávà (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjávà dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:[2]

[1] About 1920 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 233.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Ruhi, nor according to the Mayaumpi, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*dd́jódd́*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live. 776 787 756

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of. 776 778

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*ahatupahitdja*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it. [782]

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer. [773] [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child. 753

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gíθiyᵉ'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gíatmd*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans. 756 791 778 [462]

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both 756 791 776

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-amaxda*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

on the ground, and covered with a mixture of hot ashes and wet sand. Sometimes it is blown on in the sweatlodge by a fracture doctor who knows the songs: the heat helps it. Strict continence must be observed, otherwise the patient will sicken.[1]

A few medicinal plants are known, but, on the whole, internal medication does not appeal to them.[2] Leaves of cedar and of two unidentified plants which grow on the plateau (*ágwdlkà* and *tcikàpdlà*) are boiled together for a cold. This loosens the mucus and acts as a laxative. The leaves of *Pluchea sericea* are chewed to relieve irritation in the throat, or they are boiled. A copious draught of Mormon tea (*Ephedra viridis*) is taken to clear the bowels, and sometimes to induce vomiting, in cases of bowel complaints. The root of an unidentified plant, from the highest part of the plateau, Wolf's medicine, (*katágutlà isàwa*), is boiled and given to infants in the same way. For slight distempers, rheumatism, and headache, an unnamed plant (*Lippia Wrightii*) is boiled and taken copiously. Walapai use this against gonorrhœa.[3]

A bleeding nose is bathed with cold water. Blisters of burns are pricked open with a twig: red paint is dusted over the scorched surface. For earache, coals are buried in the earth beneath the head of the sufferer's bed. Piñon pitch is put in the cavity of an aching tooth and the mouth rinsed with cold water, or the tooth is pulled out with a cord. Bee stings are squeezed and salt rubbed in.

Powdered red paint is dusted on the bodies of infants to prevent chafing. The paint mixed with grease is used to soothe the chapped hands, etc., of small boys.

The Havasupai, like the White Mountain Apache, does not thrust an injured finger into his mouth, though he will shake it to relieve the pain.

Prayers

A man who wants health, prosperity, or success addresses the earth, rocks, trees, water, air, and wind. He says: "We want to prosper. We wish to be like the earth or rock, to live to be old." The sun is addressed at sunrise: "Sun, my relative, look at us: help us. Misfortune may befall my possessions; perhaps someone will fall sick. You, sun, ward this off. You know how to help us prosper." In praying to the sun, a man draws his hands down his face as he blows to brush the evil away.[4]

[1] Those struck by lightning are not bone-setters as at Zuñi. In fact, my informant had never heard of anyone so struck save two Walapai who were killed.
[2] This may be related to the Cahuilla dislike of taking medicine internally (Hooper, 331).
[3] Buckthorn is not used medicinally.
[4] See also the prayers used in planting, p. 102, in stringing a bow, p. 180, and to the sun in hunting, p. 118.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

782 778 539

ĭnyêĭn,ĭkádjádj	máhánig	midjáligig	gwipagává'ámáwiwûg
sun my relative	be good	coming out	do something good for us

pámatáhatáhódôg . gwégavá'awi'k
make me work so I can do anything I wish in the

matšnydvig	i'i'nydg	teyádjáhwálig	ha'aakâ'ligá.
garden	I hoe	I plant corn	I irrigate.

ĭnyân,ĭdj	má'ahánig	miyámig	ômádôgmig
you, sun	be good	going down at sunset	

iyágigásmávídj	tdyá	áhánáhag'ig'i
we lay down to sleep	I want	to feel good

ásmámidjáálligig.	vamá'ámámiyddjá
while I sleep you come up.	go on your course many times

áhánápa	máwiwug.
make good	things for us men.

tui'nyávává'áydg	ĭn,ddjigwa'yóhag'i'i.
make me always the	same as I am now.

171 778 782 Prayers are also addressed to the springs where prayersticks are planted, but not to the dead nor to the mythical beings in Pueblo style. Prayer plumes are never placed in the tilled fields. "We have a creek to irrigate with: the Hopi plant prayer plumes in their fields because they have none and have to pray for rain all the time" (Sinyella). Such springs are located on the upper canyon level and on the plateau. But the practice has fallen out of use because reservoirs are now made on the plateau.

778 Prayersticks are planted in sets of three. These consist of a trimmed stick, 12 cm. long, from the upper end of which a bunch of down hangs by a short cord. Eagle down is tied to the first stick, turkey down to another, and that of a small piñon bird (*adadedau*) to the third. These are thrust into the ground at the source of the spring, a circle is marked with corn-
539 meal about the source, and a prayer is offered:—
778
782

áhapô'k	ĭnyahává	matš'kmidjáligá	atiyóhag
spring	I drink	plenty more come	I feel glad

áóiha.
I use it to drink.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

ăxwŏ'gà	gwowălà	wi'và	mà'ăg	539
prayersticks	feathers	I put in spring,	look at it	778
				782

matŏ'kmidjpăgihŏgwig'l.
plenty more come.

Taboos and Miscellaneous Magical Beliefs

Proscribed types of action are not numerous in Havasupai life; 784
whether they are less binding on that account remains to be discovered. What happens when taboos conflict, as may well occur, was put to a test. Sinyella, when reminded that the father of an infant may not eat nor even 753
touch a mountain lion for fear the baby will sicken, although quivers are 784
made of this skin, replied: "It is all right for any man to carry a mountain lion quiver, but a young man must not touch the beast's flesh. Should he find a deer of which the lion has eaten, he should put sand over the chewed parts. Old men can eat this meat, but not women with infants, for if one does the baby will have stomach trouble." On another occasion, asked why the baby sickened, he said that wolves, mountain lions, and eagles are bad animals; that they contaminate the carcass as with poison. As for the reason that it is the infant, not the parent, who sickens: "Mountain Lion and Wolf said long ago that it would be like that."

Other taboos affect the habits of a couple at birth (pp. 300, 304). 784
The unborn child will be left-handed if the mother uses hers (p. 300). There must be no intercourse before a deer hunt (p. 110). The dead are not named (p. 304) and the crops from a dead man's land are not ordinarily used (p. 233). A boy should not smoke until he kills a coyote and he does not eat his first deer (p. 324).

Magical practices mentioned in other connections may also be re- 789
sumed here. There are special observances at a woman's periods (p. 320): they drink an abalone shell concoction to conceive (p. 301). A string figure is made to forecast the sex of an unborn child (p. 300). The child's first hair is preserved so that later hair will grow, and the umbilical cord is smeared on the child (p. 304). The fate of one twin affects the other (p. 301). Arrowheads are worn to prevent misfortune and ear lobes pierced to prevent deafness (p. 194). Burning with a slow match prevents rheumatism and throwing it back improves the memory (p. 323). The property of the dead is destroyed (p. 292). There is a definite procedure before a deer hunt (p. 109). Mush is the first thing cooked in a pot to make it inexhaustible (p. 140). Race colts are sung over (p. 337). The musical bow is used to make an opponent lose (p.

1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Prehistoric stone ruins are said to have been built by the mythical beings long ago. The Havasupai do not dig in them as a rule, because they are afraid—the men-animals who built them are dead. Potsherds may be handled, but not used; stone implements, however, may be used as tools and protectors against bad luck. 172 778

Comparative Notes

The religious life of the Havasupai is relatively meager in comparison with the Pueblos, in which respect they are one with the Basin tribes. In fact the resemblance is very close with both the Basin-Plateau and Californian peoples in the relative prominence of the shaman, the acquisition of power through dreams, not visions, and an hereditary bias to shamanism. Visions do not figure. Only in the slight use of prayer-plumes and prayers for rain and fertility for their crops do they resemble the typical Southwestern peoples. 171 756 [787] [782]

Killing an unsuccessful shaman as a matter of course is a practice typical of the lower Colorado tribes. By this I mean something more definite than the universal threats against malpractice and supposed evil intentions. This trait is shared by the Pima, Yuma, Mohave, Cahuilla, Yokuts, Miwok, Mono, and Shasta.[1] The Western Apache and the Southern Ute[2] seemingly resemble the Havasupai in that there may be retribution for the loss of a patient, but it does not always follow. It is not always easy to judge from the accounts just how automatic this reaction is, but it is clearly a regular procedure of the Mohave, Yuma, and Pima.

Gourd rattles are apparently limited to the Southwest, being unknown to most Californian and Basin tribes. I have found records of them among the Navaho, Hopi, Zuñi, (and they are probably used in other pueblos), Pima, Yavapai, Mohave, Yuma, Chemehuevi, Koso, Cahuilla, and Southern Diegueño.[3] The last say it has been recently introduced from the Mohave through the Yuma. Doubtless further search in collections and the literature would augment this list. There seems to be some variation in the mounting and decoration of the gourd. The Pima, Yuma, Cahuilla, and Koso, like the Havasupai, mount it on a wooden handle: the Southern Diegueño do not. Navaho, Pima, Koso, Cahuilla, Southern Diegueño, and Havasupai arrange the perforations 171 534

[1] Hellmich, (f), 226; Tripod, 371; Russell, (d), 262; Kroeber, (a), 197; (b), 479; Bourke, (a), 174; Hooper, 239; Powers, 334, 366; Dixon, (b), 479.
[2] Bourke, (c), 446; Lowie, (i), 202, 204.
[3] Tyson, (b); Hough, (a), 283; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Russell, (d), 91, 186; Carbonin, 488; Tripod, 577; Kroeber, (g), 68; Sapir, (a), 349.

1:Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

171. 534 of the gourd in regular patterns; the Mohave and Southern Diegueño paint it, the Chemehuevi do not.

171 751 The use of red paint powder to protect the skin from chafing, etc., may not be general. The few instances of its use noted are Navaho, Pima, and the Puget Sound Salish.[1] The Zuñi and perhaps others use cornmeal for dusting the skin of infants.

171 778 782 The Havasupai use of prayersticks represents an elaborate Pueblo practice in an attenuated form. I have not attempted to isolate the analogs of the local type elsewhere for lack of special knowledge. The distribution of prayersticks among the modern tribes indicates that their use is confined to the Southwestern tribes and those of northern Mexico at least. Prehistoric examples have not been reported from outside of this area so far as I recall. Their use among the Pueblos is well known. They are also used by the Navaho, San Carlos Apache (who place eagle plume sticks in the cornfields), other (?) western Apache (used in a hunting ceremony), Papago, and perhaps the Pima.[2] The ceremonial arrows of the Huichol, Tepecano, and Cora are certainly closely related forms. The Tepecano also deposit in the springs plumed sticks used in curing.[3] The Northeastern Maidu set up sticks on the graves of chiefs which are to all intents identical with the Havasupai prayersticks. This suggests that further examples may be found among the western Basin tribes.[4] At any rate the practice of planting the plumes is not Californian nor Plains-like.

228 171 The hunting charm, a calculus from the paunch of a deer, is used in precisely the same fashion by the Yavapai and Northern Maidu.[5]

171 534 789 778 The bullroarer is rather generally distributed over the Southwest, the Basin, and perhaps the Plains. It does not appear to be generally used in California. I have not examined the literature for its occurrence beyond these limits. The Havasupai association of it with the rain is of course characteristic of the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuñi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos), San Carlos Apache, and Papago.[6] The Arapaho and Klamath have an analogous usage, to produce wind.[7] For the Circe Ventre, North-

---

[1] Franciscan Fathers, 70; Russell, (a), 140; Hinkelbein and Gladstone, 96.
[2] Franciscan Fathers, 208–209; Bourke, (a), 302; (c), 439; Mason, J. A., (a), 14; Russell, (a), 88, 208 (. . . rain ceremonies, during which the medicine-men deposited the cane of mountain sheep [sic] together with eagle feathers as sacrifices?).
[3] Lumholtz, (a), II, 134, 147, 260–262; Preuss, Tafel VII ("Regen-opferplätze"); Mason, J. A., (a), 240; (d), 124.
[4] Dixon, (a), 244. The probability is perhaps strengthened by the resemblance to the Havasupai plumes of the Cheyenne hair ornaments worn in the hand games played by Ghost dance converts. (Field Museum specimens 50677).
[5] Gifford, 228; Dixon, (a), 244.
[6] Hough, (a), 294; Bourke, (a), 477; Stevenson, M. C., (b); Franciscan Fathers, 414; Mason, J. A., (a), 14.
[7] Kroeber, (a), 396.

2:Iliff Y-S (ca. 1901) 1964 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges.

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable.

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke so English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat."

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner.

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

Two men, wearing only breechcloths, emerged from the chief's larger wickiup, carrying the boy, limp and unconscious. Tenderly they eased him into the sweat lodge while another, as nearly nude as they, held aside the blanket that closed the doorway. The two men entered to administer the bath and to sing the songs of supplication and thanksgiving that are a part of the healing ceremony. Jasper's mother, using two heavy, green sticks, lifted hot stones from the fire, one by one, and placed them within the lodge. The blanket was lowered to close the opening.

The men in the lodge sang two songs in a loud, high chant, but I could not grasp the meaning. However, Mr. James had interpreted the songs that were sung when he had entered a *tobolwa* as being repetitions of their god Tochopa's instructions in preparing the lodge and conducting the ceremony. After these minute instructions had been sung many times, the singer became a supplicant, praying to the heat to heal the head, the lungs, the feet, the ears, until each organ of the body of which he had any knowledge had been named many times. At the completion of the two songs, sung to wild, erratic music, the leader dipped the twigs into the water and sprinkled the heated stones. A biting, acrid steam filled the lodge, making the lungs ache with its fierce heat. More sizzling rocks were shoved inside, more water was sprinkled on them, more songs were sung.

I watched and listened, intent on learning all that I could of this ancient and sacred rite. Because they so heartily despised the white man's curiosity, his prying into their sacred ceremonies, I must be sympathetic in my effort to discover the deep truth back of it all. I must convince them that I believed, as they did, in the healing *tobolwa* (sweat bath).

I knew they felt as I would feel if someone should enter my church and crane his neck and gawk, not with the hope of spiritual enrichment, but rather to observe the reactions of congregation and minister. I respected their sincerity. Tochopa was their benign god. He had taught Those of Old how to build the *tobolwa*: the framework of poles, the covering of green boughs and mud sealing it

drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to." 796 152

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future. 796 [781] [782]

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out 796 537

845 divisions at the small end. A woman must kneel at only one end of her grinding stone and use it the same way each time; if she were to grind on it from both ends, twins would be born. She must never turn about quickly or turn over quickly in bed or the fetus would divide into twins. No triplets are known; consequently no precautions are taken to prevent triple births.

Contraception and Abortion

842 Spier (1928, 301) wrote that contraceptive devices were unknown, but for barrenness a mixture of ground abalone shell and water was drunk. He also noted that "one does not pray for children."

[784] [782] Informants now report that in former times as at present women used what they thought to be contraceptive measures. These consisted in part of deliberately breaking taboos. During menstruation, a woman would eat cooked jackrabbit or antelope meat, concentrating the while on a prayer that she would have no more babies.

Meat from a ground squirrel was dried and crushed on a grinding stone to the fineness of gelatine powder. During menstruation, a woman took some of the powdered meat in her hand, went to a place of solitude, and licked the powder from her palm in small quantities while she prayed that she would conceive no more.

842 755 While it was reported that the Havasupai medicine men do not generally treat women either for barrenness or contraception, one informant stated that a certain woman had ceased childbearing after being treated by a Havasupai shaman. This information was not checked with the woman in question. Two women who consulted Navaho medicine men were interviewed, however, and their accounts are given as recorded.

842 159 Informant I:

"I was so sick after my last baby because I lost too much blood and almost died from it. I was in the Truxton Canyon Hospital at Valentine and they took care of me, but they wanted to send me to another hospital in Albuquerque. I didn't want to go there so I came home instead. I went to the sweatbath, and the medicine man sang for me to get well, too. Then I heated some rocks and made a place in the ground the same as for a monthly. When I lay on the warm sand over the rocks, the blood flowed better. All these things made me feel better for awhile.

"Then it was time to gather pinyon nuts so we went on top (the plateau), and I got sick again up there. Some Navahos were camped near us. My [439] husband and I had heard that when their women didn't want babies, their medicine man gave them some medicine. We didn't believe it would work,

but I was so sick that we were afraid I would die, and since the Navaho medicine man was right there, we asked him about it. He said he had some of the medicine and would sell us enough for two days for $5.00. It was a root or leaf ground fine like powder. He told me to make a tea and drink it once each day. He didn't sing for me or do anything else. I just drank the tea like he said. It turned out to be what the Navahos said it was, because I never got pregnant again and my youngest is ten years old."

842
159
439

Informant H:

"After my little girl was born, I decided not to have any more babies. You can still have them after forty, but I didn't want to. I went to the Navaho medicine man and bought something made of different kinds of weeds pounded up about as fine as tea. There were different colors: green, brown, and yellow. He found them somewhere and had already prayed over them. I took home what he sold me and made tea and drank all the water off. Then I carried the wet leaves out and put them under a small bush very carefully in the shade. They can't be in the sun. Then I prayed, not a Navaho prayer, just Supai words. I said, 'I don't want any more babies. Don't let me get pregnant again.' After that I went back to that bush three more times and prayed again. You do it that way just one month during your monthly. You can start right after your baby or several years later, whenever you decide. Then later on, if you want another baby, you can go back there and pray for one or as many as you want. I had seven, not very many, but I don't want any more. After my third girl I did that, but I got pregnant again. So I did it over after my last one. I had the medicine ahead of time before she was born so I could start on it right after."

[782]

Abortion is attempted only in the early months of pregnancy. "The blood is in a sack starting to form, and it will burst and come out but not after you feel the baby move." The procedure requires that the pregnant woman lie prone while someone, usually her mother or her husband, "steps on her back" or applies pressure to the lower back area. One informant denied that this is ever done today, but another reported such a case. This method may be tried repeatedly if it is unsuccessful.

847

Childbirth

Attendants at birth are usually close relatives of the expectant mother or father. Individuals are said not to specialize in midwifery, but certain persons are mentioned as being especially skillful. At the present time, two of those considered the most competent are a man and a childless woman. Attendants commonly are women who in addition to skill should be strong. The husband or father of an expectant mother usually gives some assistance and makes certain preparations.

848
847

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Coloredo and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the house of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
782 Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

776 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
774 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
784 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only *shamans* see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
781 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forerunners of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 271.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 775 [764]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 156 [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localised. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 751 775 754

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 756 [962]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [787 934]

The ratle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the 755 756

disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

In former times an unsuccessful shamen, and particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is performed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of September and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abundance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomine of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about midnight. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.

stream into ditches with a speed of flow sufficient to divert a considerable amount of water. It is then carried through the village and into the fields. Most of the irrigation canals are simply small ditches dug in the sand, banked slightly on the sides. The main ditches are as much as two feet deep and three feet wide, but the laterals are much smaller. These are dug from the main ditches to the individual garden plots which may then be watered as necessary. Each field is divided by long mounds of earth into sections which are watered one at a time by letting the excess from one into the next until the entire field is well soaked. Whenever the water must be carried across the mouths of side canyons where ditches would be frequently washed out in storms, small aqueducts have been constructed with piping and cement. The Indian Service has made plans to install new diversion dams and three new aqueducts with permanent footings at a cost of many thousands of dollars. The old system is a primitive one, but it has stood the test of time, for the Havasupais have been irrigating for centuries. 312 241 312

In preparing the fields for the first planting in April, the old buckthorn planting stick as an agricultural tool has given way to the plow, scraper, harrow and disc as well as shovels and hoes. Most of this equipment, along with several cultivators, mowers and one tractor, belongs to the Tribal Council which rents it out for services or money. Unfortunately, most of these tools are badly cared for since the Havasupais seem to have little mechanical ability. Men, women and children plant, but the men do most of the field preparation, irrigation and fence building and repair. The age old prayer at the first planting is still a very important part of this spring activity. 241 [413] [177] [655] [463] [782]

The more than 280 Havasupais speak a dialect which, along with that spoken by the Walapais, the Yavapais and the Tonto, has been classified as the eastern division of the Yuman stock. Havasupai and Walapai are particularly close, the dialects being no more different from each other than are "Bostonian" and "Brooklynese." The cultural affinities of these two groups are equally close and their members live comfortably in each other's midst and frequently intermarry. 197 [101]

Physically the Havasupais bear a close resemblance to the Indians of the Lower Colorado. They are of medium to short stature and inclined to fatness. Their complexions are relatively light and they smile easily and winningly. 142

648 ward glance at his own threadbare sol-
177 dier coat and well-patched breeches.]
I am young [he was nearly fifty], but
am I not old enough to remember how
[412] my people dug the soil with wooden
hoes, or cut the poles of their cabins
with stone axes, and skinned the deer
with a knife of flint? No; I take the
father of the Land of Sunrise [Wash-
ington] by the hand, and my father of
the Land of Sunset [General Wilcox]
do I grasp by the hand, that we may
look one upon another with smiling
faces."

782 The worship of the Ha-va-su-pai con-
sists of prayers, made during their
smokes, or at the hunting shrines, which
are merely groups of rude pictographs
along nooks or caves in the walls of the
cañon. Here, seated on the ground, the
worshiper blows smoke to the north,
west, south, and east, upward and
downward; then says, in a low tone,
some simple prayer, only one of which,
addressed to the spirit of the Deer-god,
I was able to record: —

[539] "Let it rain, that grass may grow for the deer.
Go not away, O deer, from my arrows and weap-
ons.
Thou art ours; by thee do we live.
Go not away, but remain to minister to our wants,
to accept of my sacrifices."

823 The Ha-va-su-pai believes that the
source of his river is sacred and pure;
that polluted by the touch of man it
would cease to give forth its waters, and
the rocks of the cañon would close for-
ever together.

773 Ko-hót told me, one morning, the fol
539 lowing beautiful story of the origin and
history of his nation: —

"When the world was new it was
covered with waters, save where a sin-
gle mountain peak to the north looked
out above their surface. Here, alone,
wandered the great Coyote. Mankind
lived in the four dark cave-plains of
earth, below this mountain, until, under
the guidance of a great cacique, they
journeyed up from one to the other, and
were finally led out into the light of the

199 Southern Paiutes formerly visited and camped in Pai territory (Spier, 1928, 360-2). Our informants reported that some would swim across the Colorado River near Prospect Valley[access to the river may be gained from either side in this portion of Grand Canyon]. Paiutes also crossed in the vicinity of Diamond Creek[a southern Paiute campsite, Ariz. G:3:1 in the Arizona State College Archaeological Survey files, has been recorded at the junction of that stream with the Colorado River] and below there in the vicinity of Granite Park[where Walapai campsites and mescal pits, Aris. G:3:8 (ASC), have been recorded]. These visits included those during which the Pai were introduced to the 1890 Ghost Dance.

[489] Hopis also frequented Havasupai villages and there was considerable movement of both peoples on the trading route extending along the south rim of Grand Canyon.

Sacred Places and Spirits

776 777 823 Shrines and sacred places were few, especially outside Cataract Canyon. Spirits were thought to inhabit Gray Mountain on the eastern boundary of their historic range, and a certain rock formation underlying the Coconino sandstone (at the end of the Great Thumb peninsula in Grand Canyon) [317] was visited to make rain. The salt deposits on the Colorado River below the mouth of the Little Colorado were used by the Havasupai but were not considered sacred. The San Francisco Peaks and Mount Sinyella [an isolated sandstone remnant on the esplanade northeast of Supai village], were thought to contain spirits which, if appealed to, could produce rain. People felt afraid to go too close to them. These landmarks were considered dangerous since visitors to them might cause too much rain or strong winds that could blow people off the canyon walls.

823 776 [782] [841] Virtually every spring known to the Havasupai contained spirits. Offerings of tobacco, peaches, or dried corn were made to these water sources, and menstruating women were cautioned against visiting them since the water might disappear. Prayer sticks, however, were not used at springs as was the Hopi custom.

Conception of the Soul

774 Spier (1928, 275) indicated that the Havasupai believed that "Each human has a soul in his heart;..." Our informants confirmed this, virtually denying a separate term for the soul. It was called "the heart" and "works inside with the blood." A person had only one soul. Beyond this, however,